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000 his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the
857 children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the [245] fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the [775] center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big
824 boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day,
776 I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its
[784] extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to
• 825 chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another
775 story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

582 and a lesser preference for li exogamy. Villagers are valued much more than the town people who are said to be lazy and who probably possess expensive tastes. Most couples were both raised in the area around Hsin Tien although brides brought in from down island carry high prestige.

Although marriages between people with the same surname are legal and villagers are aware of examples in town, they do not occur in the area around Sanlei. An interesting unconscious patterning was revealed by the fact that on every occasion when the possibility was discussed, someone made the same remark, "That's just like the pigs!" (See [325] Glossary C.) There is a shared belief that pigs are dirty and have no morals.

There are two other types of surname exogamy. Some surnames are said to be both descendants of the same ancestor and therefore should not marry, for example Liao and Chien although a violation of this rule is not as serious as would be the marriage of two people with the identical name. There was an example in the village and although the marriage had lasted many years, there was still much gossip about it for some people considered it a form of incest. Finally, two lineages may have had a fight and pledged that their descendants will never intermarry. This does not mean the proscription is for everyone with these surnames but only for the descendants of the pledgers who possess their surnames. There were three such pairs known to villagers

verb meaning to walk, to go, to act and therefore, perhaps better translations of wu hsing might be the "five operational qualities" (Thompson, 1969:4) or the "five movers" or "five agents" (Carroll, 1963:8). Correlated with the five elements are a number of other five-members sets such as directions, notes, colors, tastes, odors, sacrifices, organs, etc. The five elements produce the t'ien kan (ten celestial stems), a yin and yang form of each element. It has been suggested that perhaps the ten celestial stems were once employed for counting the days of a ten-day week (Carroll, 1963:12), but if true, the knowledge has been lost in Sanlei Ts'un.

The third set of important categories are the ti chih (twelve terrestrial branches). There are also many correlations with the twelve branches and a number of twelve-member sets such as the compass points, tones of a quasichromatic scale, etc. (Carroll, 1963:13). However, the most popular correlation is with the twelve animals, in order: Rat, Ox, Tiger, Rabbit, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Cock, Dog, and Pig. The odd-numbered items are considered to be yang and the even-numbered, yin.

"The chia-tsu cycle of sixty terms is made up by combining the stems and branches so that each of the yang (odd-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yang branches and each of the yin (even-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yin branches" (Carroll, 1963:16).

805 Every adult in the village could name the branch and stem
82 of the current year and most could immediately predict both for the following year. When asked to predict some year farther into the future, most adults could satisfactorily figure them out. The question usually produced a response set which featured recitation of a sequence while counting on the fingers. The two cycles of five and twelve were figured separately and then combined by adjusting the yin or yang form of the stem to agree with the branch in order to produce the name of the year.

805 Every villager, with the exception of very small chil-
a 825 dren, knew the animal (branch) associated with his birth and almost everyone also knew the stem (element). Older people were often not sure of either their ages or the year in which they were born, but their approximate age plus the name of the animal associated with their year of birth always allowed accurate discovery. When we later obtained official records, there were only a few discrepancies between the recorded age and the age computed by use of the animals. Each discrepancy could be explained with a story which claimed the official records were not correct. For example, one Sanlei man had been registered two years later than his actual birth because his father was with the bandits in the mountains. In each case, the "animal" designation was correct and the official registration was inaccurate.